

Congressional Record proceedings and debates of the 93d congress, first session

United States of America

Vol. 119

WASHINGTON, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1973

No. 134

Senate

The Senate met at 11 a.m. and was called to order by Hon. SAM NUNN, a Senator from the State of Georgia.

PRAYER

The Reverend Edgar J. Mundinger, pastor, Christ Lutheran Church of Washington, Washington, D.C., offered the

following prayer:

O God, You made us for Yourself and You know our hearts are restless until, in You, they find rest. Give grace, we pray, to this august assembly that as the Members of this body confer together they may combine their positions of honor and power with awe and humility and deep dependence upon Your devine guidance. Help them to seek and promote the unity of the people of our land. Give to them the blessing of sound judgment, skill in making wise decisions, patience so that no one will be too hurried to act in due time, and to act to be mutually helpful.

Gracious God, increase in them and in all of our citizenry the virtues of faith, hope, and love. That we may do what is Your will, help us all to love what You command.

And so guide the affairs of state this day that may be full of achievements that will glorify the Holy Trinity, and bless the people of these United States of America, through Jesus Christ, Your Son, our Lord and our Redeemer. Amen.

APPOINTMENT OF ACTING PRESI-DENT PRO TEMPORE

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will please read a communication to the Senate from the President pro tempore (Mr. Eastland).

The second assistant legislative clerk read the following letter:

U.S. SENATE,

PRESIDENT PRO TEMPORE,

Washington, D.C., September 17, 1973. To the Senate:

Being temporarily absent from the Senate on official duties, I appoint Hon. Sam Nunn, a Senator from the State of Georgia, to perform the duties of the Chair during my absence.

> James O. Eastland, President pro tempore.

Mr. NUNN thereupon took the chair as Acting President pro tempore.

NOTICE OF MOTION TO SUSPEND THE RULE—AMENDMENT TO STATE, JUSTICE, AND COMMERCE, THE JUDICIARY, AND RELATED AGENCIES APPROPRIATION BILL, 1974

AMENDMENT NO. 486

(Ordered to be printed, and to lie on the table.)

Under authority of the order of the Senate of January 29, 1973, Mr. PASTORE on September 13, 1973, submitted the following notice in writing:

In accordance with rule XL, of the Standing Rules of the Senate, I hereby give notice in writing that it is my intention to move to suspend paragraph 4 of rule XVI for the purpose of proposing to the bill (H.R. 8916) making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for other purposes, the following amendment, namely:

Page 14, after line 3, insert the following: "SEC. 105. None of the funds appropriated in this title shall be available for obligation, except upon the enactment into law of authorizing legislation."

Mr. PASTORE also submitted an amendment, interded to be proposed by him, to House bill 8916, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and for other purposes.

(The text of the amendment is printed above.)

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE RE-CEIVED DURING ADJOURNMENT

Under authority of the order of the Senate of September 13, 1973, the Secretary of the Senate, on September 13, 1973, received the following message from the House of Representatives:

That the Speaker of the House had affixed his signature to the enrolled bill (S. 1841) to amend the Communications Act of 1934 with regard to the broadcasting of certain professional sports clubs' games.

Subsequently, under authority of the order of the Senate of September 13, 1973, the Acting President pro tempore (Mr. Metcalf) signed the above enrolled bill.

THE JOURNAL

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, September 13, 1973, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives by Mr. Hackney, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 2075) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake a feasibility investigation of McGee Creek Reservoir, Okla., with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message also announced that the House had passed a bill (H.R. 9639) to amend the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Acts for the purpose of providing additional Federal financial assistance to the school lunch and school breakfast programs, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

HOUSE BILL REFERRED

The bill (H.R. 9639) to amend the National School Lunch and Child Nutrition Acts for the purpose of providing additional Federal financial assistance to the school lunch and school breakfast programs was read twice by its title and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry.

WAIVER OF THE CALL OF THE CALENDAR

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the call of the legislative calendar, under rule VII, be dispensed with.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE MEETINGS DURING SENATE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that all committees may be authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

S 16583

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate go into executive session to consider the nomination on the Executive Calendar, under new report.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The nomination on the Executive Calendar, under new report, will be stated.

CONSUMER PRODUCT SAFETY COMMISSION

The second assistant legislative clerk read the nomination of R. David Pittle, of Pennsylvania, to be a Commissioner of the Consumer Product Safety Commission for a term of 5 years from October 27. 1972.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the nomination is considered and confirmed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified of the confirmation of this nomination.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

LEGISLATIVE SESSION

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the Senate resume the consideration of legislative business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate resumed the consideration of legislative business.

DEFENSE APPROPRIATIONS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a statement by the distinguished Senator from Missouri (Mr. Symington) before the Senate Defense Appropriations Subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, on Defense appropriations, under date of September 13, 1973, be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TESTIMONY BY SENATOR STUART SYMINGTON

Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Committee, thank you for inviting me to testify on this FY 1974 Defense Appropriations Bill.

In some ways this bill is as important as any to be considered by the Congress this year; and your decisions with respect to it can only be fundamental to the true national security of the United States.

I premise these remarks by assuring the Committee of what I believe they already know, namely, that I am as anxious as anyone to see America so strong no one will ever attack us.

With that premise, let me respectfully present what the term "national security" means to me.

As I see it, true national security has three component parts:

First, our ability to destroy any aggressor; and certainly on our part that he knows we can do so.

In this category we are in excellent shape; and it is vital we remain so.

Secondly, a sound economy, with a sound dollar. As everyone knows, in this category our position has deteriorated and continues to deteriorate.

Third, credibility, the faith of the people in their Government and the system. It is no secret that recently this faith has not improved.

Those who hold the view that national security can be gauged almost entirely by the amount expended for new weapons systems neglect those two other important integral parts of true national security; and I believe, when they do so, they undermine both the nation's economic position and the moral support of the people for defense measures that are really needed.

There can be no more dangerous assumption than a policy based on a conviction that this nation continues to hove unlimited resources.

If we do not recognize, now, that our resources are becoming increasingly limited, and impose a sense of discipline on such institutions as our Armed Services, not only are we certain to damage our economy, but we will also further reduce the people's confidence in Government.

The people know taxes are high and can only go higher. They know of the steady increase in prices. They know the President is emphasizing that the wars are over. But they also know we are being asked, this year, to spend many billions of dollars more for defense.

There are many reasons why we now have a condition unprecedented in the economic history of our country—continued unemployment of the same time we face continuing inflation, high interest rates, and sharp devaluations of the dollar.

One reason is the subject in which we are interested today—defense expenditures; and all expenditures become more important as we note high interest rates preventing young families from buying a home, the dollar declining 55 percent against the German Mark in less than two years, and eggs selling in the supermarket at a dollar a dozen. When our citizens go to the supermarket, actually they could think they were going to the cleaners.

Careless and prodigal military spending has actually harmed our defense programs, wasted money on ships and planes and tanks. Billions upon billions of dollars of weapons programs have been scrapped because of drawing board theorist later proved to be wrong either before or shortly after said weapons were put into production.

On March 7, 1969 I placed a chart into the record which showed the total investment cost for abandoned missile systems alone, either before or just after they were deployed. This total came to \$23.053 billion.

If this figure is updated to include later weapon systems subsequently cancelled or deployed in such small numbers as to be useless militarily—the Cheyenne helicopter, MBT-70 tank, Safeguard ABM system and others—the total would be many billions of dollars more. I plan to place the additional amount in the record as soon as it is compiled.

Those who are able to force violations of good industrial practice so as to rush into production new weapons—such as the TFX, Cheyenne and C-5A—later find it impossible to impose the shop requirements needed for efficiency and economy; in fact some would appear to welcome a lack of normal shop discipline. It covers mistakes, and in that wav creates a justification for cost overruns.

In its extreme form, this frame of mind produces a curious kind of backward reasoning. Instead of beginning with an accurate view of potential enemy capabilities, and deriving from that a requirement for America's defense needs, then buying what is needed with maximum efficiency, these

"rushers" start with a need to spend money in order to show resolve, work backward to the need for a new and even more expensive weapon system, then concoct the threat to justify the always expensive, and often unnecessary, program in question.

The Armed Services Committee, of which at the request of Chairman Stennis I have been serving as Acting Chairman, reported last Thursday the annual Defense Authorization Bill.

The Committee recommended a reduction of \$1.511 billion in R&D and procurement and 156,100 in active duty military manpower slots.

These reductions would appear both prudent and justified; and I earnestly solicit your support for them.

After said reductions, the figure is less than \$3 million above the bill that has already been passed by the House.

In additional areas the Committee, at times by a majority vote of one, failed to make certain reductions which to me are not only justifiable but necessary if we are to have: (1) a strong and disciplined defense program, (2) a strong economy, and (3) public support for what is necessary.

MANPOWER

The Committee recommended unanimously a reduction in the active armed forces of 156,100 below the original request of the Defense Department; a reduction of but 7 percent at the end of a long and expensive war.

As we know, today Defense manpower cost consumes about 56 percent of the total Defense budget; and if various indirect costs such as medical programs and housing construction are included, the figure approaches two-thirds. (Reports presented to the Committee estimate the Soviets spend from one-fourth to one-third of their defense budget on manpower.)

Primarily because of manpower cost increases, next year this country will be facing an overall Defense Department appropriation request of close to \$90 billion; well over \$100 billion before the end of this decade.

There are but two basic ways to reduce manpower costs. One is to reduce the number of people, the other to reduce the cost per man.

With respect to cost per man, the Armed Services Committee is currently reviewing much of its basic personnel, grade structure, and retirement legislation; and proposals from the Department of Defense have been promised with respect to the over 13 billion dollars of annual cost of the civilians currently in the Defense Department.

This basic and complex legislation must be restructured if there is to be any significant reduction in the cost per man; so let us hope that a number of fundamental reforms are approved before the end of this Congress. Unfortunately, however, the process of changing such legislation—affecting military force structure through changed retirement incentives, adjusted ratios of officers to enlisted men, etc.—takes time.

In the short run there is but one remedy: to reduce the number of bodies in the armed forces. This summer the Committee studied the issue carefully, and thereupon recommended this 7 percent overall reduction, to be apportioned between the various Services and defense functions as deemed best by the Secretary of Defense.

An issue that can only bear significantly on cost, which was considered by the Committee in recommending the above reduction, is the difficulty the Services are experiencing in reaching their recruiting goals for the all-volunteer force.

Last July 28 the Secretary of the Army announced that the Army was falling short of its recruiting goals by about 2,000 men per month; and the Army was already about 14,-000 short of its planned strength as of the end of FY 1973. To a lesser extent, the Navy